

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 8142

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR JA CH

SUBJ: JAPAN-CHINA RELATIONS: TREATY TALKS ARE DEAD FOR NOW

REF: TOKYO 8001

SUMMARY: FOREIGN OFFICE BELIEVES THAT PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT) TALKS ARE DEAD FOR NOW, WITH BOTH GOVERNMENTS' PRIMARY CONCERN FOCUSED ON AVOIDING BLAME FOR FAILURE. BOTH SIDES HAVE MADE MISTAKES. DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURES ON MIKI AND INEPT PRESS MANAGEMENT HAVE HAMPERED JAPANESE HANDLING OF ISSUE, WHILE CHINESE STUBBORNNESS AND INFLEXIBILITY HAVE HINDERED PURSUIT OF THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS IN CONCLUDING TREATY. IF EMOTIONS CAN BE CONTROLLED AND ISSUE SHELVED QUIETLY, FAILURE TO CONCLUDE TREATY WILL NOT HARM SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS IN LONG RUN, FONOFF THINKS. FISHERIES TALKS GOING WELL AND DAY-TO-DAY RELATIONSHIP IS HEALTHY. PFT TALKS CAN BE RESUSCITATED AFTER DECENT INTERVAL HAS PASSED DURING WHICH MIKI POLITICAL FUTURE CLARIFIED. END
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SUMMARY.

1. FUJIYAMA PRESS CONFERENCE (REFTEL) MARKS END OF CURRENT ROUND OF SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS TO CONCLUDE SINO-JAPANESE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY, CHINA DIVISION DIRECTOR FUJITA TOLD US JUNE 17. BY TELLING FUJIYAMA THAT PRC HAD RESPONDED TO PRIME MINISTER MIKI'S FOUR POINT INITIATIVE; CHOU EN-LAI VIOLATED UNDERSTANDINGS AGREED BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS SINCE MAY 23 OGAWA-CHIAO TALKS, THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE KEPT STRICTLY SECRET AND FIRMLY WITHIN DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. ENERGIES OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS NOW DIRECTED TOWARD AVOIDING BLAME FOR FAILURE OF TALKS.

2. IF FUJITA IS CORRECT, THERE IS BLAME TO BE SHARED ON BOTH SIDES. WHEN CHINESE ANSWERED MIKI FOUR POINTS IN EARLY JUNE, FOREIGN OFFICE ADVISED THE PRIME MINISTER TO TELL PRESS SIMPLY THAT ANSWER HAD BEEN RECEIVED THOUGH SUBSTANCE COULD NOT BE REVEALED. CHINA DIVISION WARNED GOJ LEADERS THAT FUJIYAMA VISIT COULD LEAD TO EMBARRASSING PUBLICITY. MIKI, WHO FELT PRESS HAD BEEN TOLD TOO MUCH ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS TO DATE AND WHO BELIEVED HE WAS UNDER OBLIGATION NOT TO DISCUSS THE TALKS IN PUBLIC, REFUSED.

3. BACK IN LATE APRIL, FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA HAD ADVISED VISITING FONOFF ASIAN AFFAIRS BUREAU DIRECTOR TAKASHIMA THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD SIMPLY SHELVE TREATY TALKS QUIETLY AND RECOMMENCE NEGOTIATIONS AT MORE FAVORABLE TIME. IN RETROSPECT, FUJITA WISHES THAT GOJ HAD TAKEN CHIAO'S ADVICE. AT THAT POINT, POSITIONS HAD NOT HARDENED ON PLACEMENT OF HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN EITHER BODY OF TREATY OR PREAMBLE AND BOTH SIDES HAD SOME MANEUVERABILITY WHICH HAS BEEN LOST IN RECENT EXCHANGES OF POSITION. DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURES, HOWEVER, AND MIKI'S OWN SENSE OF COMMITMENT TO TRY HARD FOR THE TREATY FORCED HIM TO PUSH THE PACE OF NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD.

4. THE CHINESE HAVE MADE ERRORS TOO. FUJITA FEELS THAT FINAL JAPANESE POSITION -- AN OFFER TO INCLUDE HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PREAMBLE OF TREATY -- GAVE PEKING "80 PERCENT" OF WHAT IT WANTED. HAD THEY ACCEPTED, CHINESE COULD HAVE HAD TREATY CONTAINING HEGEMONY CLAUSE, IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH JAPAN, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND UPSET THE RUSSIANS, ALL AT PRACTICALLY NO COST. YET FOR SAKE OF POSITIONING HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN BODY OF DOCUMENT, CHINESE SIDE HAS LET TREATY SLIDE AWAY, AT LEAST FOR TIME BEING.

5. WHY THE CHINESE ARE BEING SO OBTUSE, FUJITA FINDS DIFFICULT TO FATHOM. HE IDENTIFIES PEKING'S HARD LINE TACTICS TOWARD JAPAN WITH LIAO CHENG-CHIH, HEAD OF SINO-JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP

ASSOCIATION. IN RECENT CONVERSATION BETWEEN LIAO AND MINAMIMURA (FORMER SAIONJI PRIVATE SECRETARY VISITING PRC WITH SHIPPING DELEGATION), LIAO USED "EVERY CONCEIVABLE BAD WORD" TO DESCRIBE PRIME MINISTER MIKI AND GOJ NEGOTIATORS. ALL FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS, LIAO IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE SAID, SHOULD BE OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT CHANNELS. FUJITA HAS SENSED A DICHOTOMY BETWEEN LIAO'S LINE AND TACTICS AND MORE SOBER APPROACH ON PART OF CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS, INCLUDING CHIAO KUAN-HUA, WHO SEEMED TO HAVE PLAYED LESS OF A ROLE AS NEGOTIATIONS DETERIORATED. WHETHER THIS WITHDRAWAL IS SIGN OF POSER STRUGGLE WITHIN PRC GOVERNMENT OR SIMPLY MATTER OF DIPLOMATIC PROFESSIONALS TRYING TO EXTRICATE THEMSELVES FROM LOSING PROPOSITION, FUJITA UNABLE TO DETERMINE.

6. PROBLEM FOR NOW, FUJITA FEELS, IS TO KEEP LOD ON EMOTIONS IN PEKING AND TOKYO AND SHUNT ISSUE ASIDE QUIETLY WITHOUT DAMAGING RELATIONS. THIS MAY BE DIFFICULT IN VIEW OF PRESSURES FROM TOKYO PRESS FOR EXPLANATION OF ANOMALIES IN JAPANESE POSITION. FONOFF WILL MAINTAIN FOR AS LONG AS IT CAN THAT STRICTLY "FORMAL" REPLY HAS NOT BEEN RECEIVED. IT WILL ACKNOWLEDGE, AS FONMIN MIYAZAWA HAS ALREADY HINTED TO DIET, THAT "ROUTINE" CONTACTS WITH CHINESE HAVE IN FACT YIELDED AN ANSWER FROM PEKING. AT SAME TIME, FONOFF WILL SEEK TO FOCUS PUBLIC ATTENTION OF FISHERIES TALKS, WHICH ARE GOING WELL, IN EFFORT TO PROVE THAT SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS REMAIN HEALTHY, REGARDLESS OF CURRENT STATUS OF PFT NEGOTIATIONS. IF AND WHEN FISHERIES AGREEMENT READY FOR SIGNING, FONOFF WILL RECOMMEND THAT CABINET-LEVEL OFFICIAL GO TO PEKING FOR CEREMONY IN ORDER TO PLAY UP EVENT.

7. FOR LONGER RUN, THOUGH CONCLUSION OF PFT WOULD HAVE HELPED SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS, CURRENT FAILURE TO CONCLUDE
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PACT WILL NOT HARM RELATIONS, AS LONG AS ISSUE ALLOWED TO SUBSIDE QUIETLY. FUJITA FEELS THAT DECENT INTERVAL NEEDS TO PASS DURING WHICH MIKI'S POLITICAL PROSPECTS ARE CLARIFIED. THE CHINESE, HE CONCLUDED, MAY SEEK TO RESUSCITATE TALKS AS SOON EITHER MIKI REPLACED OR CHINESE REALIZE THEY WILL HAVE TO DEAL WITH HIM FOR SOME TIME TO COME.
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